

## Message Text

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S E C R E T STATE 216652 TOSEC 250026

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FOLLOWING REPEAT MAPUTO 989 ACTION SECSTATE 1 SEP 76

QUOTE S E C R E T MAPUTO 0989

NODIS

E.O. 11652 GDS

TAGS: PFOR MZ US UK

SUBJ: AUGUST 31 BRITISH MEETING WITH MACHEL

1. SUMMARY: MACHEL TOLD ROWLANDS/DUFF THAT HE WILL SUPPORT  
US-UK INITIATIVE TO REACH PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT IN RHODESIA  
IF THERE IS A "FORCE" IN RHODESIA READY TO NEGOTIATE.  
END SUMMARY.

2. BRITISH AMBASSADOR JOHN LEWEN HAS GIVEN ME THE FOLLOWING  
REPORT ON THE MEETING AUGUST 31 BETWEEN MACHEL AND TED ROWLANDS  
AND TONY DUFF. AMBASSADOR LEWEN WAS PRESENT. MEETING LASTED  
TWO-AND-HALF HOURS. SAME MOZAMBICANS WERE PRESENT AS AT  
SCHAUFLE MEETING WITH MACHEL.

3. FIRST HOUR WAS DEVOTED LARGELY TO ROWLANDS' EXPLANATION  
OF UK POLICY IN SOUTHERN AFRICA AND DISCUSSION WHAT UK AND  
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US NOW SEEKING TO ACCOMPLISH. ROWLANDS STRESSED THAT THERE WAS

OPPORTUNITY NOW FOR A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT AND AFRICAN FRONT-LINE LEADERS SHOULD GRASP IT. HE NOTED THAT THE IMPORTANT NEW ELEMENT IN PICTURE WAS USG WILLINGNESS TO BRING PRESSURE ON VORSTER, WHO IN TURN WOULD BE URGED TO APPLY PRESSURE ON SMITH.

4. DURING COURSE ROWLANDS' PRESENTATION, MACHEL REMARKED THAT PEACEFUL SOLUTION IN RHODESIA DEPENDED MORE ON WEST AND UK THAN ON AFRICANS. HE SAID AFRICANS HAD SOUGHT FOR ONE YEAR TO NEGOTIATE A SETTLEMENT, BUT SMITH REFUSED. MACHEL ACKNOWLEDGED THAT VORSTER HAD DONE TWO THINGS: HE HAD HELPED FREE PRISONERS AND HE HAD WITHDRAWN HIS TROOPS FROM RHODESIA. MACHZL SAID IT VITAL THAT VORSTER NOT INTERVENE IN THE WAR. IF HE DID, RHODESIA WOULD BECOME ANOTHER ANGOLA, BY WHICH BRITISH AMBASSADOR TOOK MACHEL TO MEAN THAT THERE WOULD INEVITABLY BE OUTSIDE INTERVENTION IN RHODESIAN WAR.

5. BRITISH AMBASSADOR SAID DISCUSSION DURING FIRST HOUR WAS RAMBLING AND IMPRECISE, BUT THIS CHANGED WHEN MACHEL ASKED ROWLANDS QUIZZICALLY "WHY ARE WE MEETING?" ROWLANDS SAID PURPOSE WAS TO EXPLAIN UK POSITION ON RHODESIA, TO CONVEY UK THINKING THAT "MOMENT IS AT HAND" TO EXERT DIPLOMATIC PRESSURE TOWARD SETTLEMENT, TO REPORT THAT US AND UK ARE PREPARED MOUNT SUCH INITIATIVE, AND TO FIND OUT IF MACHEL WOULD SUPPORT SUCH INITIATIVE.

6. READING FROM HIS NOTES, LEWEN SAID MACHEL'S RESPONSE TO ROWLANDS' QUESTION WAS "YES, WE WILL SUPPORT IT IF THERE IS A FORCE READY TO NEGOTIATE." LEWEN SAID MACHEL WAS TALKING ABOUT A "POLITICAL FORCE." MACHEL WAS SKEPTICAL THAT SUCH A FORCE EXISTS. IF IT DOES, HE SAID IT WOULD HAVE TO BE ABLE TO GOVERN AS WELL AS NEGOTIATE. (COMMENT: IN DISCUSSION WITH SCHAUFELE, MACHEL ALSO CAME BACK SEVERAL TIMES TO QUESTION OF "WITH WHO SHALL WE NEGOTIATE?" IT OBVIOUSLY ONE OF MACHEL'S MAJOR CONCERNS.)

7. AS IN HIS MEETING WITH SCHAUFELE, MACHEL ALSO EMPHASIZED TO BRITISH THAT THE TRANSITION PERIOD MUST BE SHORT. EIGHTEEN MONTHS WAS FAR TOO LONG. MACHEL SAID IT SHOULD BE MAXIMUM OF TWO MONTHS. MACHEL ALSO WANTED TO KNOW WHO WOULD BE RESPONSIBLE FOR MAINTAINING ORDER IN RHODESIA DURING TRANSITION.

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SMITH, HE NOTED, HAS AN ARMY, POLICE AND MERCENARIES, AND THE WHITES ARE ARMED. "WHO IS TO BE RESPONSIBLE FOR MAINTAINING ORDER?"

8. ONE ISSUE WHICH MACHEL EXPLORED WITH BRITISH BUT NOT WITH SCMAUFELE WAS ARRANGEMENTS FOR WHITES. MACHEL SAID HE WAS CONCERNED BY ATTEMPTS TO IMPOSE GUARANTEES FOR MINORITIES DURING THE DECOLONIZATION PROCESS. HE SAID PORTUGAL HAD IMPOSED

GUARANTEES IN ANGOLA AND "LOOK WHAT HAPPENED."  
"THERE MUST BE NO GUARANTEES FOF COLONIALISTS." DUFF RESPONDED  
TO THIS BY EXPLAINING IN MORE DETAIL BRITISH THINKING ON  
POSSIBLE MAKE-UP OF PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT, ON THE VARIOUS  
STEPS IN TGANSITION PROCESS, AND ON HOW WHITES MIGHT BE DEALT  
WITH. ACCORDING LEWEN, DUFF'S PRESENTATION  
WENT LONG WAY TO ALLAYING MACHEL'S FEARS THAT  
ARRANGEMENTS FOR WHITES WAS WAY OF ENTRENCHING "COLONIAL  
PRIVILEGE."

9 MACHEL SUMMARIZED HIS UNDERSTANDING OF OBJECTIVES  
OF US-UK INITIATIVES ON RHODESIA AS FOLLOWS: (A) TO CREATE  
CONDITIONS FOR A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT; (B) TO BRING INTO  
BEING AN INTERIM GOVERNMENT; (C) TO ESTABLISH MAJORITY RULE;  
(D) TO NEGOTIATE WITH NATIONALIST MOVEMENTS, INCLUDING  
FREEDOM FIGHTERS; AND (E) TO AVOID FURTHER WAR.

10.M DISCUSSION ON NAMIBIA WAS BRIEF, WITH MACHEL MAKING MUCH  
SAME POINTS AS HE DID WITH SCHAUFEELE. MACHEL DID ADMIT TO  
BRITISH THAT WHILE SWAPO IS THE MAJOR FORCE IN NAMIBIA,  
THERE ARE OTHER FORCES AS WELL.  
DE PREE  
UNQUOTE ROBINSON

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